

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 02332 01 OF 02 080310Z  
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00  
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12  
NEA-11 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15  
HA-05 /110 W

-----107197 080338Z /12

O 080304Z JUN 78

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1860  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 02332

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORG, SF, WA  
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: APPROACH TO FRONTLINE STATES

REF: (A) USUN 2302, (B) USUN 2305

1. CONTACT GROUP MET PM JUNE 7 TO CONSIDER VIEWS OF  
CAPITALS ON APPROACH TO FRONTLINE STATES, GABON, AND  
NIGERIA (REF A). BONN AND OTTAWA BOTH APPROVED THE  
TALKING POINTS AS DRAFTED. LONDON AND PARIS, HOWEVER,  
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PAGE 02 USUN N 02332 01 OF 02 080310Z

HAD DIFFICULTIES: THEY FELT THAT THE TALKING POINTS  
EXAGGERATED THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE REGISTRATION OF  
VOTERS AND UNNECESSARILY RISKED ELICITING AN EMOTIONAL  
RESPONSE FROM THE FRONTLINE STATES. WE, ALONG WITH THE  
CANADIANS AND GERMANS, REPLIED THAT WE ALL HAD CLEARLY  
ACCEPTED THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE REGISTRATION OF VOTERS  
WHEN WE AGREED TO MAKE THE MAY 24 DEMARCHE TO VORSTER

PERSONALLY. WE ALSO STATED THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE PROPOSED APPROACH WAS SPECIFICALLY TO PREVENT THE EMOTIONAL RESPONSE WHICH MIGHT COME FROM THE FRONTLINE IF THEY WERE CAUGHT OFF GUARD BY A SOUTH AFRICAN ANNOUNCEMENT.

2. IN ADDITION TO THE VIEWS OF CAPITALS, THE OTHER FOUR MEMBERS OF THE GROUP HAD ALSO RECEIVED A REPORT ON THE CAPE TOWN FIVE S SUGGESTED REVISIONS OF THE TALKING POINTS AND ON RECENT CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN BRAND FOURIE AND UK AMBASSADOR SCOTT. SCOTT'S REPORT WAS NOT VERY CLEAR BUT BRITISH INFORMED GROUP SCOTT HAD RECENTLY SPOKEN TWICE WITH FOURIE WHO STATED: (A) THAT THE CABINET HAD NOT DECIDED WHAT TO DO REGARDING REGISTRATION; AND (B) THAT WHAT THE SAG MIGHT DO WOULD BE TO ISSUE A PROCLAMATION GIVING THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL THE POWER TO START PROCEDURES FOR REGISTRATION OF VOTERS. TO THIS SCOTT REPORTEDLY RESPONDED THAT IF THE SAG WERE TO ISSUE SUCH A PROCLAMATION HE WOULD ENCOURAGE THEM TO STATE THAT SUCH REGISTRATION WOULD NOT START UNTIL MUCH LATER AND THAT THE REGISTRATION WOULD BE SUBJECT TO THE SATISFACTION OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE. FOURIE REPLIED THAT HE WOULD CONSIDER THESE SUGGESTIONS AND THAT ANOTHER ALTERNATIVE COURSE FOR THE SAG TO TAKE WOULD BE TO ISSUE PRESS GUIDANCE INDICATING THAT ALTHOUGH THE MECHANISM FOR REGISTRATION OF VOTERS WAS BEING CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 USUN N 02332 01 OF 02 080310Z

CREATED IT WOULD NOT TAKE EFFECT IMMEDIATELY. (THE FRENCH ADDED THAT THEY UNDERSTOOD THAT VORSTER, BOTHA, AND FOURIE WOULD BE MEETING ON THIS MATTER JUNE 7.) IN A SECOND MEETING WITH SCOTT, FOURIE HAD SUGGESTED THAT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO DELAY ANY ACTION ON THIS ISSUE. FOURIE'S SUGGESTION APPARENTLY CAME IN RESPONSE TO SCOTT'S REFERENCE TO THE POSSIBILITY OF A FRONTLINE SUMMIT SOON.

3. THE CANADIANS COMPLAINED STRONGLY ABOUT "SCOTT'S DEVIATION FROM THE AGREED COURSE". THE FIVE'S POSITION HAS BEEN THAT ANY ANNOUNCEMENT IN WHATEVER FORM WOULD BE DAMAGING, AND THE CANADIANS HELD THAT SCOTT HAD ABSOLUTELY NO INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE FIVE TO SUGGEST WAYS IN WHICH THE SOUTH AFRICANS MIGHT TAILOR THEIR ANNOUNCEMENT. WE SUPPORTED THE CANADIANS EMPHATICALLY AS DID THE GERMANS. IN ADDITION, WE ARE CONCERNED THAT SCOTT PLACED TOO MUCH EMPHASIS ON THE POSSIBILITY OF A FRONTLINE SUMMIT. THE MORE EMPHASIS IS PLACED ON THAT SUMMIT, THE MORE LIKELY THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE TO USE IT, IF IT FAILS TO OCCUR OR DOES NOT ACT DECISIVELY, AS EVIDENCE OF INACTION. THE SOUTH AFRICANS SHOULD UNDERSTAND

THAT THE SUMMIT WAS ONLY PART OF THE DIPLOMATIC PROCESS  
NECESSARY TO RESTORE MOMENTUM.

4. IN VIEW OF SCOTT'S INFORMATION THE BRITISH PROPOSED  
A COMPLETELY NEW DRAFT WHICH THE U.S., CANADA AND FRG  
OBJECTED TO ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT MINIMIZED THE  
IMPORTANCE OF THE SAG ACTION AND WOULD NECESSITATE  
STARTING THE COMPLEX CLEARANCE PROCESS ALL OVER. THE  
GROUP AGREED TO REVISE THE FIRST SENTENCE OF THE  
PREVIOUSLY AGREED TALKING POINTS AS FOLLOWS: REPLACE  
THE WORDS "PROCEED SHORTLY WITH AN ANNOUNCEMENT THAT  
THEY ARE COMMENCING THE REGISTRATION OF VOTERS IN  
NAMIBIA" WITH "ANNOUNCE SHORTLY MEASURES RELATING TO THE  
REGISTRATION OF VOTERS IN NAMIBIA".  
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 USUN N 02332 01 OF 02 080310Z

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PAGE 01 USUN N 02332 02 OF 02 080315Z  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 02332

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

5. THE BRITISH AND FRENCH THEN RETURNED TO THEIR ORIGINAL CONCERN ABOUT WHAT THEY CONSIDERED THE ALARMIST TONE OF THE TALKING POINTS. BOTH CLEARLY WOULD HAVE PREFERRED SCRAPPING THE APPROACH ALTOGETHER, BUT FACED WITH THE INSISTENCE OF THE OTHER THREE, AGREED THAT THE APPROACH SHOULD BE MADE. WE THEREFORE SETTLED ON A NUMBER OF ADDITIONAL CHANGES, PRIMARILY TONAL IN NATURE, TO THE TALKING POINTS. THE REVISED TEXT OF THE TALKING POINTS, APPROVED BY THE CONTACT GROUP, FOLLOWS PARA 9. CANADIANS AND GERMANS  
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 USUN N 02332 02 OF 02 080315Z

ADVISED GROUP THAT THEY WOULD NOT NEED TO REFER REVISIONS TO CAPITALS FRENCH AND BRITISH SAID THEY WOULD.

6. COMMENT. FACED WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN DETERMINATION TO PROCEED, THE BRITISH SEEM DESIROUS OF RATIONALIZING AWAY ANY SOUTH AFRICAN MOVE AS SIMPLY A SMALL AND INOCUOUS ACTION. THIS, OF COURSE, FLIES IN THE FACE OF POLITICAL REALITY AND WOULD ALSO AMOUNT TO OUR MEEKLY SUBMITTING OURSELVES TO ANOTHER SLICE OF THE SAME SOUTH AFRICAN SALAMI TACTICS WHICH RESULTED IN THE STEP BY STEP INSTALLATION OF THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL. BONN IS SO CONVINCED THAT WE DID NOT REACT STRONGLY ENOUGH TO THE SOUTH AFRICA'S ORIGINAL DECISION TO CREATE THE POST OF ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL, AND SO ANXIOUS TO AVOID REPEATING THE SAME MISTAKE, THAT FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER CALLED IN THE SOUTH AFRICA AMBASSADOR IN BONN. GENSCHER INFORMED HIM OF GERMANY'S OBJECTIONS TO SOUTH AFRICA'S PROPOSED ACTION AND WARNED HIM THAT GERMANY WOULD CONSIDER THAT ACTION AS EVIDENCE OF THE INSINCERITY OF SOUTH AFRICA'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL.

7. WE ARE CONCERNED WITH THE LENGTH OF TIME IT HAS TAKEN THE FIVE TO AGREE ON THE APPROACH AND HOPE THAT IT WILL NOT BE OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS. WE BELIEVE THAT THE REVISED TALKING POINTS ARE THE BEST PRESENTLY OBTAINABLE. END COMMENT.

8. AT THE CONCLUSION OF TODAY'S DISCUSSION WE BRIEFLY DISCUSSED THE DRAFT PRESS STATEMENT CONTAINED REF B. ALL EXCEPT LONDON HAVE APPROVED THE STATEMENT WITH THE OBVIOUS CAVEAT THAT IT WILL HAVE TO BE REEXAMINED IN LIGHT OF THE NATURE AND LANGUAGE OF ANY

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PAGE 03 USUN N 02332 02 OF 02 080315Z

SOUTH AFRICAN STATEMENT ON REGISTRATION OF VOTERS.  
THE BRITISH, HOWEVER, STATED THAT DAVID OWEN WAS NOT  
PREPARED TO CONSIDER A WESTERN FIVE STATEMENT IN  
ADVANCE OF A STATEMENT BY THE SOUTH AFRICANS. WE SUGGES-  
TED THAT, SINCE THE OTHER FOUR HAD RECEIVED APPROVAL OF  
THE DRAFT STATEMENT, LONDON CONSIDER IT.

9. TEXT OF REVISED TALKING POINTS FOLLOWS: (ALL FIVE  
CAPITALS HAVE APPROVED THE PROPOSED TREATMENT OF WALVIS  
BAY DESCRIBED REF A.)

BEGIN TEXT.

DRAFT TALKING POINTS FOR USE WITH FRONTLINE STATES

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS INFORMED US THAT THEY  
INTEND TO ANNOUNCE SHORTLY MEASURES RELATING TO THE  
REGISTRATION OF VOTERS IN NAMIBIA. WE HAVE TOLD THE  
SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT THAT WE DISAPPROVE OF ANY SUCH  
ACTION AND THAT IT WOULD BE REGARDED BY OUR GOVERNMENTS  
AS CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT AND LETTER OF A VITAL PROVI-  
SION OF THE PROPOSAL WHICH SOUTH AFRICA HAS ACCEPTED.  
WE HAVE STRESSED THAT THE REGISTRATION OF VOTERS IS AN  
ESSENTIAL PART OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS WITH WHICH THE  
UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE MUST BE CLOSELY ASSOCIATED AND  
WITH WHICH HE MUST BE FULLY SATISFIED. THE SOUTH AFRICAN  
ACTION WILL IN OUR VIEW NOT BE VALID IF CARRIED OUT  
UNILATERALLY, AND A PROCESS OF REGISTRATION IN ACCORDANCE  
WITH THE PROPOSAL WILL BE REQUIRED. WE BELIEVE THAT  
THIS AND OTHER RECENT DEVELOPMENTS UNDERLINE THE NEED  
FOR EARLY PROGRESS TOWARD AGREEMENT TO OUR PROPOSAL.  
PRESIDENT KAUNDA HAS INFORMED US OF HIS DESIRE FOR A  
FRONTLINE SUMMIT ON NAMIBIA IN THE NEAR FUTURE, AND WE  
HOPE THAT THIS MEETING WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE SUCCESSFUL  
CONCLUSION OF ALL OUR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE AN INTERNATION-  
ALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. END TALKING POINTS. YOUNG  
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PAGE 04 USUN N 02332 02 OF 02 080315Z

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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**Concepts:** POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, MEETINGS, BRIEFING MATERIALS, VOTER REGISTRATION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 08 jun 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
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